6: Sauer--115-116 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 771, 776, 821, 825

"The Socha regard themselves as in a perfect state of demonocracy. In general conversation, they call God, Tanghra; a church, Tanghra Dshi, God's house; and Sundays, Tanghra Kuin, God's day. I could not obtain any explanation of the attributes of Tanghra. Those of other gods they explain as follows:

Aar Toyon (the merciful chief) : To him they attribute the creation, and suppose him to have a wife, whom they call Kubey Chatoon (shining in glory): they are both all-mighty. --Another god, named Wechsyt (the advocate), carries up their prayers, and executes the resolutions of the godhead: Wechsyt, they say, used frequently to appear among them, and still continues now and then to shew himself, assuming the form of a white stallion, or different birds, from the eagle to the cuckoo. --Shessugai Toyon (the protector): he intercedes for them, and procures all desirable things, as children, cattle, riches, as well as all good and com-[116]fortable things: his wife they call Aksyt (the giver). --These are their benevolent gods; and I may add to the number a being which they adore in the sun: to these they offer sacrifices only once a year."

6: Sauer--116[2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut

116, 756, 776, 822, 825

"Their malevolent spirits are very numerous; for they have no less than 27 tribes or companies of aërial spirits: their chief they call Ooloo Toyon: he has a wife and many children: Sugai Toyon (the god of thunder)is his minister of immediate vengeance (Sugai is hatchet): the rest they distinguish by the names of different colours. Cattle and horses are sacred to the different spirits whose colours they bear. They also reckon eight tribes of spirits inhabiting Mung Taar (everlasting misery). Their chief is called Asharay Bioho (the mighty): these have wives, and the cattle sacred to them are quite black: their departed shamans are supposed to unite to these. They are in great dread of another evil goddess, whom they call Enachsys (cowherdess): she damages the cows, inflicts disorders on them, destroys calves, &c. and is frequently honoured with offerings to be propitious to their stock."

6: Sauer--123 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 685, 695, 825, 756

"If an accusation be laid against any by his companion, of having stolen and eaten or killed cattle, he must either pay for the same, receive a flogging (which is very disgraceful), or take an oath of his innocence; and, should an innocent man be accused, he will, in general, rather pay for them than take the stipulated oath, which is administered with the following ceremony:

A magician [RCH: i.e., the shaman] places his tambour and dress before the fire, the embers of which are burning. The accused stands before it, facing the sun, and says: 'May I lose during my life all that
'man holds dear and desirable, father, mother, wives, children,
'relations; all my possessions and cattle; the light of the sun,
'and then my own life; and may my spirit sink to eternal mi-
'sery (mung taar), if I be guilty of the charge laid against me!'
The magician throws butter on the hot embers; the man accused must then step over the tambour and dress, advance to the fire, and swallow some of the exhaling smoke from the butter; then, looking to the sun, say, 'If I have sworn false, deprive me
'of thy light and heat.' Some of the tribes close the ceremony by making the accused bite the head of a bear; because they allow this beast to have more than human wisdom, and suppose that some bear will kill the aggressor."

6: Sauer--124-125 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 825, 787

"They are extremely superstitious, and almost every tribe has its object of veneration, but not of worship, as the eagle, the swan, the stallion, &c. Ravens, crows, and cuckoos, are ominous birds; if these perch near their huts, they dread some misfortune, which [125] is only to be averted by shooting the bird. Eagles and large birds of prey are, on the contrary, the foreboders of good."

7: Shklovsky -- 37 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 825

"Here and there, like the cry of a peevish child, rose the cry of some small bird, and from the few hillocks came sounds like the bleating of a goat. These proceeded from a kind of water-hen, which, the Yakuts say, utters its call in twelve different languages before rain falls."

7: Shklovsky -- 68-69 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 825, 177

"About 230 versts from Sredne Kolymsk there is the enormous Pomasskin. On the top of the mountain, among the wild-rose bushes, there were about twenty graves nearly level with the ground, one of them distinguished by a big, bent pole, half decayed by time. These were the famous 'graves of twenty Russians' of which I had heard when I started from Yakutsk. [69]

'Who were they?' I asked the old Yakut Moksogol (his Russian name was Nicholai), who lived at the bottom of the cliff.

'The snow has fallen many times since that happened,' he began. 'Some Russian soldiers came and wanted to build a town on the mountain. They began to fish, and they caught a sturgeon. But, my friend, it was a strange sturgeon, for it had only one eye, and that was on its forehead. 'Oh, comrades,' said one old man, 'do not eat it, or some evil will happen.' But they laughed. They cooked and ate the sturgeon and lay down to rest, but only the old man rose up again, for he had not eaten of the fish; all the others were dead. They are buried here, and this pole marks the grave of their chief.'

What are these graves? Whence came the people who lie buried in this most desolate spot? How can the Yakuts know such a word as 'soldier' when throughout the entire region there are no military? To all these questions I can only reply that I do not know."

9: Stadling--90 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
825

"In former times the Yakuts regarded cattle as unclean animals, but little by little utility has conquered superstition, so that the cow has now to a great extent replaced the horse both as a yielder of milk and meat, and also as a beast of burden."

10: Bush--230 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 181, 825, 231

"The Yakouts, notwithstanding their amiable and peaceful disppsitions, are generally very cruel toward animals. Their favorite mode of killing a horse for food is to bind it down strongly with cords, when the breast is cut open, and then one of them, thrusting his arm into the cavity, kills the animal by compressing its heart with his hand. They claim that it gives the meat a better flavor."

12: Galitzin -- 147-148 N-2 (no date) 1853 Yakut -1-2
116, 224, 774, 825, 778, 782

"The Yacoutes have for the bear a kind of superstitious fear: they believe that in this animal the spirit survives the body. In spite of this, they do not scruple to shoot a bear and to eat its flesh, but it is by observing certain forms which they suppose have the power to turn aside the witchcraft. Imagine some Yacoutes travelling, and in crossing a forest that they should meet a bear. All begin by taking off their caps, lavishing upon him many salutations, and calling him by the name of toïone (lord) of worthy old man, of good father, and so on. In the mean time they beseech him, in the most humble terms, to allow them to continue their journey, assuring him, that instead of forming any bad design against his lordship, on the contrary, they entertain the greatest respect for him. But whilst addressing these fine words to the animal, our cunning Yacoutes go forward, choose a tree suitably situated, in order to be safe from behind, and then shoot the animal dead. This first point settled, they make haste to skin it, and having cut it into pieces without breaking the bones, which they put aside (it will soon be seen for what reason), they cook the said pieces. During the preparations, a man of the same party has taken care to knead, with clay lightly moistened, a little statue representing Boënai, the Great Spirit. The meat being cooked, the caldron is raised in addressing a prayer to Boënai and to the spirit of the forest. According to the belief of the Yacoutes, each forest is placed under the direct influence of a spirit. They then sit down round the smoking soup, and each of the guests takes care to pour on the

fire the first spoonful of gravy. Then the feast begins. While it lasts, the guests often apostrophize the ghost of the bear which they have thus dispatched. 'No,' say they, 'don't believe us capable of having perpetrated such a murder. Among us, poor Yacoutes, the art of making guns and deadly balls is unknown. They are either some Russians or Toungouses who have done the evil deed.' After the repast the bones of the animal are carefully put together, wrapped up with the idol in a piece of birch-tree bark, and then hung up to a tree. "You see it well,' they go on repeating during the [148] ceremony, 'far from being murderers, it is on the contrary we who gather together here the bones of this bear killed by others!"

16: Great Britain Admiralty --166 [3] G-3 (no date)1920 Yakut
116, 231, 361, 576, 825

" They have only lately begun to breed dogs. They regard the dog as an unclean animal, and as having no kut (soul); they are harsh to their dogs; it is a gross offence against good manners to introduce a dog into a Yakut's house 'because of the evil spirits that sit on its tail'. Their habit of horse-breeding led to them setting the yurtas at a considerable distance from one another, because it was necessary to have plenty of pasturage for their big herds; if they had exhausted the pasturage near home, it would have been necessary to send the horses a long way, which would have meant risk from the negligence or dishonesty of the keepers."

16: Great Britain Admiralty--168 [4] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 771, 776, 825, 177.77 Russia
636.77

"The Yakuts have been nominally Christian since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Tsar declared that they had merited this privilege, of which many of them remained absolutely unconscious. They go to church, but have a very hazy idea of their nominal religion. Their native chief god is Tangra. They have also many malevolent spirits, who are distinguished by the names of colours; cattle and horses are sacred to the spirit whose colour they bear."

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

The grave, grave structure, or grave-mound is made by the kjuvess. Various forms have survived to the present time:

a) in a forest trees with many branches are chosen which form a short-sided quadrangle. At a height of two or three yards above the ground some horizontal timbers are laid on the trees; and upon these timbers the hollow trunk with the corpse is put. Such a burial place is known as Arangàs. In cases of emergency the hollow trunk is replaced by a rough chest.

b) in those areas where there are few or no woods corpses are put on the ground [83] in a trough made of birch bast or a hollow lodje [RCH: i.e., wooden boats] (vytka), and covered with boards. The rainstorms of the spring and melting snow flood those vytkas unless they have been destroyed before by common and stone foxes and other animals living on corpses.

c) To avoid this, in the northern part of the area the chest with the corpse is set on wooden pegs which rise a little above the ground. The corners of the grave are also adorned with wooden stork figures, a bird which enjoys particular veneration on the part of the shamans. The stork helps the souls of the dead to rise to heaven, the abode of the good spirits.

d) The last sort of dealing with a corpse is burial in the ground. With spade and pick-axe a hole, rarely more than one or one and a half yards deep, is dug. The ground in the

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

Yakut area does not thaw deeper than half a yard; in the Lena delta it is only the moss which then is dotted with small pools, at the bottom of which is perpetual ice. The custom of burying the dead in the ground is certainly due to Christian influence. This is suggested by the fact that carved crosses with oil paint are put on those graves. The hole is then enclosed in a fence.

"The Yakut legend is much more elaborate and imaginative, as might be expected from the aristocrats of the tundra. The Yakut territory marches with that of the Limpiisk Tungus on the south-east, and they are at a much higher stage of culture, both material and intellectual, than their neighbours. The tale was told us by an old Yakut living in the Tungus country. He said--

'There have always been two kinds of reindeer; one docile, not fearing men, the other by nature wild and holding dear its freedom. One day two reindeer, one of each kind, were walking together in the forest. The first said,"I will go to these men to find out more about them."

'"Fool," answered the second, "are you not well enough with your friends?"

'"They will be my friends also."

'"They will do you some hurt; they are never the friends of wild creatures."

'"They will not harm me. I see them look long at me from afar, as if they would know me better."

'"You are a fool. If you go to them, they will ride upon your back, and when they have broken it, then they will kill you."

'"You do them wrong. They will not hurt me. I am sure they will not kill me, save for [100] some great need. I would serve them. You they would kill, but not me."

'So that reindeer went among men and they treated him kindly. They ride upon his

back, and harness him to sledges, and he does their work. They do not kill him, save in some great need, as when they are hungry, and have nothing else to eat. It is the wild reindeer we commonly kill for our food and other needs.'"

27: Coxwell--289-290 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 539, 825

"At the end of the fourth Samoyede story there occurs an account of a seven days' journey through the air; while in the Chukchi, 'Tale of a Dead Head,' there is a visit of a family to the higher regions; and in the Lapp 'Cap of Invisibility,' a journey is taken to the stars. With such movements of living persons through vast spaces of air it is natural that ancestral spirits should reside above as well as below ground.

It is not only among the Yakuts that a myth exists concerning a heavenly crane. Among the Ainus the crane is of [290] much importance and is worshipped. According to a legend, a crane came down from heaven, and one day, in the absence of the parent bird, people determined to obtain the young ones from the nest in order to offer a sacrifice. They took not only the young, but the garments found neatly folded beneath them. 'Some hunters say that even now clothes may be found in the nests of cranes.'"

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

262 I have already mentioned that in former times horse-flesh
273 and kumiss formed the staple food of the Yakut. The hay-
291 makers often carried kumiss with them in skin bottles to the fields as their only food, and it was sufficient for them. "Kumiss slakes the thirst, exhilarates, restores strength, and does not overcharge the stomach," say the Yakut. The hay-makers worked easily and quickly. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the horse became the object of a particular cult, as an animal on which man chiefly depended for his existence.

773 Kumiss and fat mare's flesh are regarded in the myths as
825 food worthy of the heroes of divine origin. The horse, tradi-
273 tion says, was let down from heaven and given to man by the
776 chief of the benevolent deities, Lord Bright-Creator (Ürüñ Aγγ Toyon).[1] According to another tradition recorded by me on the Kolyma River, Lord Bright-Creator sent down to earth another deity, Bar-Allei-Lord (Bar Allei Toyon), to instruct men how to make kumiss. The deity brought with him to the earth the ferment for making kumiss (*xoyū*). One of the ancestors of the Yakut tribe, Dyghyn, says another legend recorded by me, had such large droves of mares, that the kumiss made of their milk filled whole lakes, and everybody came to their borders and drank.

773 In the myths we find the winged steed an important per-
776 sonage, — the counsellor, assistant, and companion of the hero
539 in battles and travels. Ayγsyt, the goddess of fecundity, is supposed to be near the mare during the first three days of foaling. The same deity, or another deity of the same name, — this is not quite clear, — also assists the lying-in woman. In love-songs we often find, by way of praise, the comparison of the hero to a colt, and of the heroine to a mare.

825 It is regarded as a sin to beat a horse. The bones of a horse must not lie on the ground. In olden times the bones of horses were placed on a platform. If a Yakut finds in his path

[1] For the division of Yakut supernatural beings into "creators" (*aγγy*) and "evil spirits" (*abaγy*), see JOCHELSON, The Koryak (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Leiden, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 129).

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

825 the skull of a horse, he picks it up and hangs it on a tree. Even
— the excrement of the horse is not regarded as unclean.
796 The most important festival among the Yakut is connected
273 with the preparation and use of kumiss, and is called *ysyax*, or kumiss festival. It has both a social and a religious significance. During the summer, in olden times, every rich man arranged a kumiss festival, at which all members of the clan assembled and were entertained. Other people, and frequently whole clans, were invited; and during the festival, defensive and offensive leagues were concluded. Every such festival commenced with sacrifices, and was accompanied with songs, dances, games, horse and foot races, and other contests.

Two kumiss festivals in honor of deities are arranged during the year by the owners of large droves of mares. One of them, in the spring, is consecrated to the Supreme Being and the head of the benevolent deities of the "creators" (*ayy*),—to Lord Bright-Creator. The first milking of mares in the spring is also consecrated to the Supreme Being. The spring festival is called *Ayy ysyaxa* ("kumiss festival in honor of the 'creators'"). Spring, as the period of the revival of nature, appears as the season of happiness and abundance. In the prayers addressed to the "creators," they are implored to bestow their blessing upon the people.

The spring kumiss festival takes place in the open air. In the midst of a large smooth grass meadow a kind of altar is erected. This consists of two posts with a crossbeam, and three young birch-trees with young shoots on them (see Plate XVII). The altar is hung round with sacrificial horsehair, and on the ground in front of it are placed ornamented birch-bark and ox-hide barrels filled with kumiss. The skin barrels are tied to the altar-frame by long ornamented straps of soft elk-leather. This is done so that the vessels, when softened by the liquid in them, shall not collapse. The ceremony commences by sacrifices to Lord Bright-Creator and to other "creators." Their names are uttered by the steward of the festival, who may be a shaman or an elder member of the clan. The sacrifices consist of libations of kumiss, in the direction of the dawn, to every

46: Cottrell--139 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 136, 825

"The flesh of the gelinotte, or white partridge, very common in all the northern parts of Europe and Asia, is of a much whiter colour than that of any other sort of game. These people imagine they know why it has monopolized so much of this whiteness, which other birds possess in such small quantities. Their belief is, that it was formerly one of the largest birds in creation, and that being very proud of its size and force, it yielded to no creature in rank and consequence. One day in its flight it met the Tang-ara, one of their divinities, in mid-air, and being of a large size, it would not make way for the god, and as a mark of contempt, brushed him with his wing in passing. To punish this arrogance, its white fless was immediately distributed among all the other birds, and from that time it has only been of the size we now find it."

326 The same kind of superstitious awe with which the shamans were
756 regarded was also applied to the smiths, particularly hereditary smiths who were believed to have mysterious powers. The smith was considered to some extent related to the shaman. "The smith and the shaman are out of one nest." Smiths could treat illnesses, give advice and even make prophecies. The smith forged iron pendants for the shaman's costume, and this fact alone made him awesome. The smith had special power over the spirits for, according to Yakut superstition, spirits were afraid of the sound of iron and the noise of the smith's bellows.

776 Apart from shamanism, the Yakuts had another cult, connected with
782 their livelihood. The chief deity in this cult was Bay-Bayanay, the spirit of the forest and patron of hunting and fishing. According to some beliefs, Bayanay had 11 brothers. They brought luck in hunting and fishing, so that the hunter exorted them to help him before he went out hunting, and after a successful hunt made them offerings of some of the catch by throwing pieces of fat into the fire or smearing the images of Bayanay with blood.

776 The belief in ichchi or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed ichchi, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The ichchi themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on, at various places—river crossings, mountain passes and so on—the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. The worship of
776 certain animals came close to this cult as well. The bear was an object
825 of great reverence and as a result people avoided calling it by name, were afraid of killing it, and considered it to be a transformed sorcerer. The eagle was also worshipped and called toyon kyyl ("mister beast"), and so were the raven, hawk and certain other birds and animals.

776 All these beliefs go back to the ancient means of livelihood of the Yakuts, and pastoralism also gave rise to its own set of beliefs and rituals. These comprised the cult of the deities of fertility, which was not preserved for very long and is therefore less known. Among these beliefs was clearly the belief in ayyy, benevolent deities who bestowed various benefits. It was thought the ayyy lived in the east.

First place among the benevolent spirits was taken by Urun-Ayyy-Toyon ("white lord and creator"), who lived in the eighth heaven, was kind and did not interfere in human affairs, hence there was apparently no cult of him. The image of this spirit was very much mixed up with features of the Christian God. According to a certain belief, still higher than Ayyy-Toyon was Aar-Toyon, who inhabited the ninth heaven. Below them followed a large number of other benevolent deities, who were supposed to bestow various blessings. The most important figure among them
[844] was the female deity *Аҕыныһыт* (Ayyysyt), who bestowed fertility, patronized women in labor and gave mothers their children. Sacrifices were made to Ayyysyt during childbirth, and since it was considered that after the birth this goddess remained three days in the house, a special female ritual (to which men were not allowed to come) was performed at the end of three days in order to celebrate her departure.

796 The chief ceremony in honor of the benevolent deities, the patrons of fertility, was the kumys festival, *ыһыах*, in the old days. This festival was organized in the spring or halfway through the summer, when there was plenty of milk; it was held in the open air, in the meadows, and many people gathered together for it. The peak moment of the festival